1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success.

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way:

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Maiduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 829 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
• [792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[771] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

However, there
365 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
• 792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
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565 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[963] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[962] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[192] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

[GEIDAM]

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə. This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Koranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invariably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who survived were given away, and grew up in the household of another family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the great love for children and desire to have children. However, those who have borne a child have indicated their ability to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives who have no children of their own, and who are probably unable to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediately after the child was weaned; two were given away at later ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not have an adequate home at the time.

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[941] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

5. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115 1.	Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]2.	Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]3.	Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]4.	NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

*177 191 [563] *[634] speakers of these languages as of English. It has been noted that both Shuwa and Fulani pastoralists are found in considerable numbers in Borno Province. The members of the group of NA Malams seem to be outstanding in their knowledge of other languages. Not only do they all speak Hausa and English, but three in addition speak Shuwa Arabic, two speak Fulani, and one speaks Mandara.

*177 212 Turning to reading ability (Table XVII), it can be seen that 15 of the sample (34 per cent) are able to read in English script, while 24 of the sample (54.5 per cent) are capable of reading in Arabic script. Writing the Kanuri language in Arabic script preceded the entry of the British into the area by several centuries; the British introduced writing in Latin (English) script and have taught this form of writing in the schools. It is clear that many more individuals are capable of writing in Arabic script today than in English script. It is also apparent that almost half of the sample are illiterate in any script.

*[565] *[634] Of those who can write well in English script, 10 of the 11 fall into two groups: the Aristocracy and the NA Malams. Most of the individuals in the six other groups are unable to write in English script. The pattern of those who are capable of writing in Arabic script is quite different. Once again the NA Malams are an outstanding group. Not only can they all write in English script, but all can also write in Arabic script. Of course the Koranic Malams can also all write in Arabic script.

*[634] *[792]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256]

own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

#177 #829 805 788 Column B represents the most common response to this question. Thirty-five individuals said that a watch was useful because one then knew when to pray. Ritual prayer takes place five times each day, at set times of the day (see Chapter II). These are usually determined by the position of the sun in the sky; the benefit of a watch in helping one to know when to pray is therefore obvious. Some individuals added that a watch was particularly helpful in knowing when to pray when it is cloudy; others noted that in the bush, when no one else was about, it was helpful to have a watch to know when to pray. In connection with prayer, three individuals noted that by having a watch one knew when to arise in the early morning before the sun was up in order to count one's prayer beads (tajimi). Similarly, four people noted that you knew when to wake before the sun was up to eat something in the month of Ramadan. Since prayer times regulate the divisions of the day, six people added that by having a watch one knew when to eat (in relation to prayer), and two said that one knew when to go to sleep (a non sequitur). Several people specifically noted that knowing the times for ritual prayer was the only use of a watch. All the individuals in two groups put forth this reason, among others, for having a watch. These groups are: Aristocracy and NA Malams. * [565] * [634] • [792] Seven of the eight Talaka offered this reason. On the other hand, only one of the three Koranic Malams offered this as an example of the usefulness of a watch. Apparently the other Koranic Malams do not feel that a watch is of any assistance in

*177 805 *829 788 helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

• [792] The four types of response to the question concerning the *177 805 *829 128 usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of acculturation. Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave *[634] work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have [792] offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting *[554] that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (*c) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

European-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cigarettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

The last items involving Western material goods concern the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers, presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams, Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Alhaji henceforth), fasting, etc.

Still another area which was used as a measure of acculturation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: muscular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called <u>alo</u>. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are members of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

[GEIDAM]

#177 75 #829 When directly confronted by the question of which is the more effective, drinking alo or Western medicine, 18 (41 per cent) said Western medicine, 12 (27 per cent) said alo, 14 (32 per cent) said that they each served a different purpose. Of those who chose Western medicine, eight individuals specifically stated that Western medicine is the more effective because it cures more rapidly. One Canteen Operator noted the changing times, saying that alo had been effective in the past but that Western medicine is more useful today; an NA Malam stated that alo was not medicine. Several of those who chose alo as the more effective added that, "Alo is our cure," and "Alo is more useful for Moslems." The latter responses indicate an adherence to that which is Kanuri for its own sake, as a means to retain cultural identity. Those who indicated that they would not go to a European doctor in answering the previous question were consistent in maintaining that alo is a more effective cure than Western medicine. The Koranic Malams and the Low-status Individuals refused to acknowledge the effectiveness of Western medicine. The NA Malams and the Kabuna, on the other hand, either chose Western medicine or claimed that the two have different purposes.

[792] [559] [634]

The area of treatment of various diseases is followed up in the next question dealing with six specific types of disease or injury (Table XXVII). The six types of illness or injury were chosen because the author had previously ascertained that for three of these the Kanuri considered that they had effective

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 285]

*177 means of treatment while for three others Kanuri treatment was
75 not particularly successful when compared with Western types
*829 of treatment. The Kanuri feel that their traditional means of treating broken bones, bites by poisonous snakes, and jaundice (called "yellow-eye") are effective, and this is reflected in their answers in columns 1, 2 and 3 of Table XXVII. 8[illegible]er cent stated that the Kanuri specialist was more effective in setting bones; 60 per cent said that he was more effective in treating jaundice; 89 per cent said he was more effective with snake-bite wounds. With respect to headaches, to smallpox (baru), and to a general complaint of internal pains (tuno), Kanuri treatment is not as effective. As can be seen in columns 4, 5, and 6, belief in the effectiveness of Kanuri treatment for these ailments is low: 12 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for headaches is the more effective; 19 per cent state that they believe the Kanuri cure for smallpox to be more effective; 37 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for tuno is the more effective. The expectation that for the first three ailments the Kanuri respondents would claim that Kanuri cures are more effective while for the latter three ailments they would indicate a greater reliance in the effectiveness of Western medicine was upheld.

[792] Several groups stand out. The Koranic Malams, for example, do not offer a single response indicating that European treatment is more effective than Kanuri treatment, for any of the
*634] six ailments. The Kabuna and the NA Malams tend to respond in

daughter to the Western school. Most (73 per cent) would send their sons to school, and the reasons for doing so (*c, *d) stress the usefulness of Western schooling and the benefits to be gained. 27 per cent said that they would not send their sons to school, a number adding "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *f). Four groups would overwhelmingly send their sons to school. These are: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, NA Malams, Kabuna. The remaining four are divided, although none of the Koranic Malams and only one Low-status individual would send a son to the Western school.

Fewer would send a daughter to school, though once again a majority (64 per cent) state that they would. The Aristocracy, NA Malams and Kabuna would overwhelmingly send a daughter to school (though one individual in each of the latter groups has shifted from a "yes" for a son to a "no" for a daughter). The Koranic Malams remain adamant and would no sooner send a daughter than they would a son. Whereas a majority of Talaka would send a son to school, most would not send a daughter to school. The reasons given for sending a daughter to school appear in *h and *i. Of the 15 who answered "no", 8 added "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *j). One Talaka noted (*d) that school was useful for a boy, but not for a girl because marriage difficulties arise for educated women. This issue will be discussed more fully in Table XXXVI which concerns marriage with an educated woman.

In following up the choice involved in educating one's son,

*554 *829 441 *777 178 441 *463 556 *554 tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka. Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the categories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new innovation brought about by contact with the West, has undergone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (*k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

*554 *829 Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is interesting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (*a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly *c who has selected a time-honored [792] ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table [44] XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

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*554 *829 *463 Five of the eight groups range very closely (from 38 to 50 per cent) and indicate neither very great satisfaction with their present work, nor great disapproval. The Low-status individuals are included among them. They apparently do not find their low status a source of discontent. The Koranic Malams all seem very secure in their occupations, as do the Canteen Traders who all seem to find their work rewarding. It is striking to note that the Aristocracy are the most dissatisfied group in the sample. A number of possible reasons can be advanced to explain this (there are many hidden strains in their roles; they are in a better position to fantasy than the others, etc.), though none really seems to ~~to~~ provide an adequate explanation.

*177 *829 *463 *554 The next table (Table XXXIII) deals with the same general area of desired occupations, but treats the problem differently. Instead of asking the open-ended question "What sort of work would you most like to do?", this question required the members of the sample to select that occupation which they found most appealing to them from among four which were offered. The four choices included two acculturated occupations (truck driver and doctor or dispenser), and two traditional Kanuri occupations (Lowan and Koranic Malam). As indicated by the table, only five individuals selected the acculturated occupations; the overwhelming choice of the sample was for Koranic Malam (70 per cent). This contrasts sharply with the choices made in Table XXXII, where only 4 (9 per cent) chose Koranic Malam. Unfortunately,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

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*177 *829 *463 *554 as "trader" was not offered as a choice in this question, it is impossible to ascertain whether Koranic Malam is the second best choice to trader, or whether, when reminded that Koranic Malam is a possible choice, people feel obliged to choose it.

[792] [441] *[565] Considering each of the four occupations individually, four of the groups were unanimous in choosing Koranic Malam as the desired occupation. These are: the Koranic Malams, Canteen Operators, Talaka, and Low-status Individuals. In the group of Craftsmen the choice of Koranic Malam is almost unanimous, but for one individual who chose truck driver. The category of truck driver is the least popular and was selected by only two people; one of these (*a) indicated that he chose it because it was the best of four unattractive choices. Three groups remain who did not overwhelmingly choose Koranic Malam.

*[565] These are: Aristocracy, NA Malams and Kabuna. The Aristocracy include two of the three individuals who selected doctor (*b); the others in the Aristocracy are divided among the remaining

*177 *829 *463 *554 *634 choices. The category of Lowan is the final occupation to be discussed and was selected as the preference of 8 individuals. Seven of these 8 individuals are found in two groups: the NA Malams and the Kabuna. The eighth is an Aristocrat who is presently a Lowan. Three of the Kabuna would like to be Lowans (compare with Table XXXII where only one Kabuna selected Lowan). This desire is expectable in a group whose activities are entirely within the political structure and whose rewards would probably come through promotion to higher position within the

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*177 *463 *829 *554 The aspirations of those who would like their sons to hold NA or European jobs become apparent as one looks at their verbatim responses (*a, *d, *e, *f, *k). They would like their sons to be bank clerks, accountants, doctors and Senior Service government employees, working in the large cities. Two fathers specifically add that they want their sons to become "black Europeans" (*a, *f), an ambivalent comment since it implies that their sons will have the advantages of a European and in the process will become estranged from their Kanuri fathers. Those who wish that their sons might become Koranic Malams (*b, *g, *j, *l) see the advantages in terms of the respect which they would gain in becoming a Liman, an Alkali, or a Gonyi--"Many people will come to his house" (*j). The advantages of success in trade have already been discussed (*c).

*565 Taking each group in turn, the Aristocracy all wish their sons to do NA or European work, though a glance at column 8 indicates that none wishes his son to do precisely the same type of work as his father is presently engaged in. This once again would appear to indicate the same dissatisfaction noted [792] for the Aristocracy in Table XXXII. The Koranic Malams continue to demonstrate the same consistent behavior which they have shown all along. All wish their sons to become Koranic Malams [941] (*b), like their fathers. The Canteen Traders would also like their sons to engage in trade; 5 of the group chose trade for their sons and they make up the bulk of those who gave this [634] response. The NA Malams follow the same pattern; 5 of the 6

*177 565 only one area do they clearly reveal themselves as conservative, and that is in the area of treatment of specific diseases (items 24-29). Inconsistencies are revealed within this behavioral area as the responses of the group are acculturated for four items (22, 23, 27, 29) and unacculturated for four others. Most striking is the response of this group to the question of the treatment of smallpox (28), which was discussed earlier. At several other points the Aristocracy appear unacculturated, but the degree is very slight in the case of items 2 and 43. Item 42 may be slightly more significant.

On the whole, the pattern of acculturation of the Aristocracy is that of a relatively stable group. In their one area of marked unacculturation, the explanation would seem to lie in the political implications of the treatment for smallpox. The resistance which the Aristocracy has for Western treatment of smallpox seems to extend to other diseases as well, though in not so severe a form. Yet they are not totally unacculturated in this behavioral area, and thus give inconsistent responses.

*177 792 2. Koranic Malams. A note of caution must be introduced in discussing this group. Only three individuals are represented here, and conclusions based on this group are less sure than in other cases. Their acculturation profile is presented in Table XLI. Generally, they are a very unacculturated group. Their conservative responses in certain behavioral areas, those of religious behavior, education, and treatment of disease, are predictable considering the areas with which a Koranic Malam is

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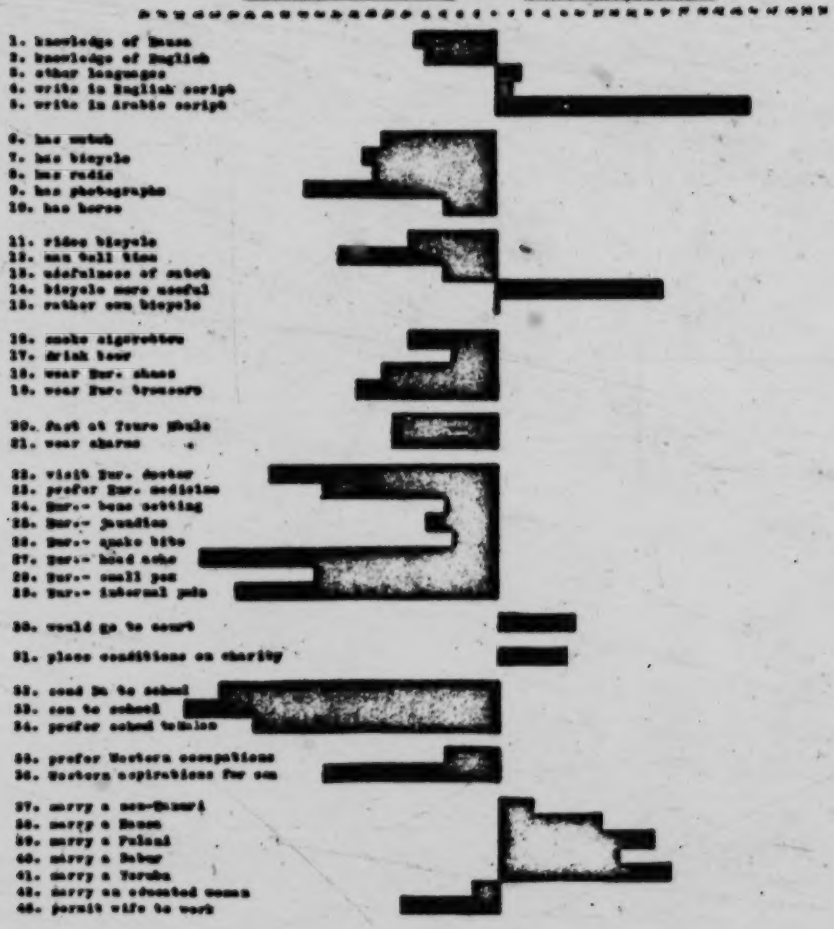
Table XLI

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE KRAMIC HAUSA



[GEIDAM]

#177 concerned. Item 5 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation; the Koranic Malams naturally write in Arabic script.

In certain areas, however, they respond in acculturated fashion. They are willing to marry a non-Kanuri and distinctly more willing to marry each of the four tribes noted in items 38-41. When the condition that the woman be a Moslem is added, the Koranic Malams show themselves to be a tolerant group. This is probably because their primary allegiance is to Islam rather than to Kanuri culture. Thus as long as behavior does not conflict with Islamic behavioral expectations, they would have no real objection, and in the case of marriage, state that they would be willing to marry a wide range of women so long as they were Moslem. Similarly, Allah is their guide in the case of settlement of disputes, so that they appear acculturated in Item 30, and in Item 31 the conditions placed on charity are that the individual would behave as Allah told him to. I have no explanation, frankly, for their response to Item 14. On the whole, the relative consistency of the answers of the Koranic Malams would indicate that they are a stable group.

#177 441 3. Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators epitomize an unstable group. Omitting the three items not dealing with acculturation measures, 18 of their responses are on the acculturated side, 20 are on the unacculturated side, and 2 are precisely at the mid-point. They are consistent in only two behavioral areas: they are acculturated in the possession of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 346]

2: Rosman MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For responses of Koranic malams, canteen operators, NA malams and kabunas to questionnaires on acculturation, see charts in category 116, pp. 249-327.]

173
651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
• [792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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631
651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely